

Title	The Present Perfect in Japanese and Hungarian : A corpus-based study on two languages lacking a Present Perfect-form
Author(s)	Tóth, András Márton
Citation	ハンガリー研究. 1 p.169-p.190
Issue Date	2021-03-31
oaire:version	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/81534
rights	
Note	ISSN: 2436-1364 (print), 2436-4932 (online)

Osaka University Knowledge Archive : OUKA

<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

Osaka University

The Present Perfect in Japanese and Hungarian

A corpus-based study on two languages lacking a Present Perfect-form

Márton András Tóth

1. Introduction

The research on the Present Perfect (PresP below) verb form is vast and in recent years corpus-based studies such as Nishiyama & Koenig (2010), Yao (2014), and contrastive studies between English and other languages with a PresP-form such as Molsing (2006) have appeared. However, there seems to be a lack of research on how languages that do not have a PresP-form can express the same functions as PresP does. Consider the following examples:

(1a) This soldier has lost his gun. (Dahl & Hedin 2000:390)

(1b) Kono heishi wa jū wo nakushi-ta. (Japanese)
this soldier TOP gun ACC lose-PAST

(1c) Ez a katona elvesztet-te a fegyver -é-t. (Hungarian)
this the soldier lose-PAST-3PS the gun-POSS-3PS-ACC

While the English sentence in (1a) uses the PresP-form, both Japanese in (1b) and Hungarian in (1c) use a verb form that is mainly considered to be a past-tense form in the same situation.¹ In fact, neither Japanese nor Hungarian has a PresP-form, yet both languages can provide a reading corresponding to the English PresP-form. In many cases, this is done by the usage of the past tense forms mentioned in (1b-c).

The question that arises is why and in what cases this is possible? Moreover, how can we determine when the Japanese “ta”-form (JTA below) and the Hungarian past tense form (HPF below) serve the same function as the English PresP-form? What are these functions in the first place?

These are the issues the present study is concerned with. The first aim of the present paper is thus to propose and scrutinize a method to analyze the PresP-meaning provided in languages that do not have a PresP-form, such as Japanese and Hungarian. The second aim is to investigate to what extent the past tense form of these languages can function as PresP.

The structure of the present paper is as follows: in Chapter 2 a brief overview will be given on the previous research on PresP, respectively on Japanese and Hungarian. In Chapter 3 a method to analyze PresP in PresP-less languages will be proposed. Chapter 4 introduces a corpus-based study on JTA and the HPF. Chapter 5 summarizes the conclusions of the present paper.

2. Previous research

2.1 Previous research on the Present Perfect

There are various approaches to the semantics and pragmatics of PresP. To summarize the gist of the observations of this vast amount of research, the following can be stated.

1) It has been proposed by McCawley (1971: 104) and Comrie (1978: 56-61) that PresP has the uses shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The uses of PresP

Category	Examples ²
I. Resultative perfect (RES)	a) John has arrived. (Comrie 1976: 56) b) I can't come to your party tonight – I've caught the flu. (McCawley 1971: 104)
II. Existential Perfect (EXP)	a) Bill has been to America. (Comrie 1976: 59) b) I have read <i>Principia Mathematica</i> five times (McCawley 1971: 104)
III. Continuative Perfect (CPE)	a) We've lived here for ten years. (Comrie 1976: 60) b) I've known Max since 1960. (McCawley 1971: 104)
IV. Perfect of Recent Past (PoRP)	a) I have recently learned that the match is to be postponed. (Comrie 1976: 60) b) Malcolm X has just been assassinated. (McCawley 1971: 104)

In (I) RES, the event entails a result which holds at the speech time (ST below) of the speaker. (II) EXP indicates that the event in question has occurred at least once in the time span up to ST. (III) CPE denotes that a state has continued from the past up to now. (IV) PoRP indicates that the event has occurred recently to ST.

2) PresP differs from the preterite in the sense that it does not only focus on the event in the sentence, but captures the relation between the event time (ET below) and ST.

(2a) I ate breakfast.

(2b) I have eaten breakfast.

The preterite use in (2a) is seen as an event being disconnected from ST, while (2b) connects the event in some sense to ST. Many scholars refer to this connection as “current relevance”², that the event has some kind of relevance in the present.

Others, such as McCoard (1978) and Declerck (1991) have described the difference between (2a) and (2b) in terms of temporal localization.

McCoard (1978) suggests that PresP should be seen a past event that is temporally included in the “now” of the speaker – he calls this approach Extended Now-theory. Declerck (1991) and Iatridou et al. (2003) further developed this approach, claiming that PresP sets up a time span between ET and ST. Declerck (1991: 326-327) claims that the preterite is localized in the “past time sphere” while PresP is similar to the present tense in the sense that it localizes time in the “present time sphere”. This can be seen from the fact that the English PresP-form generally does not co-occur with time adverbials that indicate past time, such as “yesterday” and “at ten”.

(3) *Yesterday at ten, John has left London. (Klein 1992: 525)

3) It has also been claimed that PresP functions as some sort of “indefinite past” (Leech 2004, Lindstedt 2000), since not only that it does not co-occur with past time adverbials, often it does not co-occur with any time adverbials at all. This has to be considered due to that PresP tends to focus on the occurrence of event itself and not on the specification of when it happened. However, PresP can co-occur with time adverbials indicating recentness to ST, such as “recently” or “just now” (PoRP in Table 1), adverbials expressing number of occasions such as “three times” and anteriority “before” (EXP in Table 1), or time adverbials establishing a time span such as “for three years” or continuance from a past point in time such as “since 1960” (CPE in Table 1)³.

4) PresP has also been regarded as a stative construction (Parsons 1990, Katz 2003, Musan 2002 Rothstein 2008). Parsons (1990: 234-235) claims that the state PresP entails is a Perfect State⁴, which is “the state of the event having occurred” and this is a state that “cannot cease to hold”. However, telic verbs such as the ones in (I) in Table 1 can also entail a Target State, which is a result state that arises

from the culmination of the event. For instance, in (1a), the arrival of John entails that John is present.

5) Lastly, it has been noted by i.e. Rothstein (2008: 159) that in order to account for the four uses of PresP, we need to consider time adverbials, context and situation aspect. Beside the time adverbials mentioned above, the context might also influence the interpretation of PresP. PresP is frequently used to imply relevance at ST and the need for further actions (Dahl & Hedin 2000). For instance, in (1a), the occurrence of the event entails that the soldier's gun is not present at ST, and implies that his might have certain repercussions – e.g. that the gun has to be found or the soldier has to be punished.

Furthermore, as Rothstein (2008: 142-143) notes, it is more likely that PresP is used in an out-of-the-blue context - namely where there is no pre-context –, rather than the preterite. In the case of the preterite it is unclear what temporal setting the event is in, while PresP clearly relates ET to ST, which specifies the temporal setting. Also, situation aspect plays an important role in the interpretation of PresP. RES requires telic situations, while CPE requires atelic ones. EXP and PoRP can take both atelic and telic situations (Rothstein 2008: 157).

2.2 Previous research on Japanese

It has been pointed out by Kudou (1995) and Nitta et al. (2007) that JTA both has a function which relates the event to ST, and one which does not. The following examples can be given from Nitta (2007: 134):

- (4a) Senshūmatsu ni watashi wa eiga wo mi ni it-ta.
last.weekend TEMP I TOP movie ACC see DIR go-PAST
 'Last weekend I went to see a movie.'
- (4b) Anata, sukoshi yase -ta ne.
you, a.bit get.thin-PAST PARTICLE
 'You have lost some weight, haven't you?'

In (4a), the event is portrayed as occurring in the past, with no connection to ST. In (4b) on the other hand, the occurrence of the event, “to lose weight”, has perceptible consequences at ST in the sense that the subject is lighter or looks thinner. The event is thus seen as connected to ST.

Kudou (1995: 128-141) claims that JTA can be used similarly to PresP. She claims that examples such as (5a-b) indicate that the consequences of the event hold up to ST and can therefore hardly be considered as a preterite.

- (5a) - Kimochi no warui no wa, dou dai?
feeling POSS bad POSS TOP, how PARTICLE
 - Mou naori-mashi -ta.
already cure-POLITE-PAST
 'How is it with the illness? - I have (already) recovered.'
- (5b) Tegami, yomi-mashi-ta. Ano ko wa, hidoi koto wo itte
letter, read-POLITE-PAST that girl TOP, awful thing ACC say
 ki -teiru no desu ne.
come-TEIRU POSS COP PARTICLE
 'I've read the letter. That girl has said a lot of awful things, hasn't she?'

2.3 Previous research on Hungarian

The research on PresP in Hungarian is limited in general, and there seems to be no discussion on to what extent HPF can express PresP.

Kenesei et al. (1998: 295) mention that Hungarian had four past tenses in the past but only a “completive past tense” is used in modern standard Hungarian. This tense form was previously “used to refer to past actions with result in the present or with which the speaker felt an emotional connectedness” (Kenesei et al. 1998: 296). Kiss (2017) identifies this previous use in Hungarian as an old PresP-form.

Kenesei et al. (1998: 295-296) further argue that HPF has four functions, namely: “(i) took place before the moment of speaking, (ii) started in the past and

was completed before the moment of speaking, (iii) has not taken place for some time but is expected to happen”, (iv) took place often or habitually in the past.”

- (6a) Márta telefonál-t. ((i) above)
Martha cal l-PAST.INDEF.3SG
 'Martha called.'
- (6b) Ezer év-e nem lát -ta -lak! ((ii) above)
thousand year-POSS.3SG not see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ
 'I haven't seen you for ages!'
- (6c) Május óta nem vet-te -m könyve-t. ((iii) above)
may since not buy-PAST-INDEF.1SG book-ACC
 'I haven't bought any books since May.'
- (6d) Pál mindig gyalog jár-t iskolá-ba. ((iv) above)
Paul always on.foot go-PAST.INDEF.3SG school-ELA
 'Paul always walked to school.'

3. Method

In order to search for examples of JTA and HPF that can be considered to correspond to the use of PresP, the following method was applied:

1) JTA and HPF were searched for in Internet corpora of the two languages. The Japanese corpus was KOTONOA Shonagon, with the setting “Yahoo Blog”, containing blog material. The verb in question was searched for in its ta-form, e.g. “壊れた” (“kowareta”).

The Hungarian corpus was Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár (MNSZ for short), with the setting “Személyes” (“Personal”) which contains material from Internet forums. The more precise settings were “szótő” (“word root”), with the base form of the word entered, e.g. “megérkezik” (“he/she arrives”), in “múlt idő” (“past tense”) - the other options were set as “tetszőleges” (“optional”).

The reason for choosing the above corpora is that they contain examples produced in the last twenty years and thus give a good reference on modern language

usage. Furthermore, forums and blogs reflect everyday language use and events that occurred in the past both with and without connection to ST are expected to appear in these corpora.

2) The verbs searched for are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The verbs subject to analysis

		Japanese	Hungarian	English translation	Quantity
Verbs with high resultativeness	1	Kowareta	Tönkrement	Has broken	10
	2	Tsuita	Megérkezett	Has arrived	10
	3	Kieta	Eltűnt	Has disappeared	10
	4	Tomatta	Megállt	Has stopped	10
Verbs with low resultativeness	1	Hashitta	Futott	Has run	10
	2	Mita	Látott	Has seen	10
	3	Hikatta	Villant	Has flashed	4
	4	Natta	Csörgött	Has rung	7
	5	Tataita	Kopogtatott	Has knocked	4
	6	Sakenda	Kiáltott	Has shouted	5

The selection of the verbs was based on the observations of Rothstein (2008: 157). Verbs with high resultativeness are achievement verbs (see Vendler 1967: 146) that have the capability to entail a Target State. Verbs with low resultativeness cannot generally entail a Target State, and are activity verbs (“has run” and “has seen”) or semelfactive verbs (“has flashed/rung/knocked/shouted”. For reference, see Smith 1991: 55)⁵. Since semelfactive verbs were low in number in the corpora, the quantity of these verbs was adjusted so that the examples of both verbs with high and low resultativeness would both be forty.

The selection based on lexical aspect enables an analysis on verbs with different sorts of characteristics and were thus divided in the manner stated in Table 2.

Furthermore, the examples from the corpora were picked quasi-randomly with the following limitations: examples were limited to sentences that were in affirmative and indicative mode, appearing in matrix or coordinate clauses. For the sake

of simplicity, other examples were excluded. This led to a natural selection of sentences that fulfilled these conditions.

3) The method for classification is stated in Table 3. The left column shows the criteria for classification and the other three columns show the criteria for the classes displayed in Table 1. The criteria are based on the observations stated in Chapter 2.

Table 3: Criteria for determining the four uses of PresP

Criteria	RES	EXP and PoRP ⁶	CPE
1. The event culminates (it is bounded)	Yes	Yes	No
2. The event does not co-occur with a time adverbial and the time of occurrence is thus indefinite. If it does co-occur with one, it cannot be a time adverbial that indicates past time, such as “yesterday”	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. The pre- or post-context does not indicate that the sentence containing the event is set in the past	Yes	Yes	Yes
4. The event includes a verb with high resultativeness	Yes	Yes/No	No
5. The context indicates a perceptible result of the event at ST	Yes	No	No

The results will be displayed in Table 4 and 5, accompanied by examples.

4. Results

The results are divided into the four uses shown in Table 1. Some examples could not be classified with these categories and were categorized as OTHER. Finally, some examples were unclear between two different categories and were thus classified as UNCLEAR.

4.1 Japanese results

The results of JTA are shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Results of the Japanese ta-form

Verb	Uses				Other	
	RES	EXP	CPE	PoRP	OTHER	UNCLEAR
Tomatta (has stopped)	3	0	0	0	7	0
Kowareta (has broken)	5	0	0	0	4	1
Kieta (has disappeared)	4	0	0	0	6	0
Tsuita (has arrived)	4	0	0	0	6	0
Mita (has seen)	0	2	0	2	3	3
Hashitta (has run)	0	2	0	0	8	0
Hikatta (has flashed)	0	0	0	0	4	0
Natta (has rung)	0	0	0	1	6	0
Tataita (has knocked)	0	0	0	0	4	0
Sakenda (has shouted)	0	0	0	0	5	0
Sum :	16	4	0	3	53	4

As Table 4 shows, the most frequent category was OTHER, mainly consisting of sentences that were localized in the past and were thus identified as a past tense-

use. Among the uses stated in Table 1, the most common category was RES, followed by EXP and PoRP. Some sentences were unclear between two categories and were thus categorized as UNCLEAR. No instances of CPE could be observed. The following examples represent the six categories in Table 4.

RES:

- (7a) Kono atsui naka, kicchin no kankisen renjifūdo ga
this hot middle, kitchen POSS ventilation hood NOM
koware-mashi -ta. Korekara kai ni it-te ki -masu.
break -POLITE-PAST from.now buy DAT go-TE come-POLITE
 'The hood of my kitchen ventilation broke', in the middle of this
 heat. I'll go now and buy a new one. Geez.'

In (7a), the event is not localized in the past – it does not co-occur with any specific time adverbial. Even so, “kono” in “kono atsui naka” signals that it is “now” we are speaking of, namely that the event is localized close to ST. Furthermore, the post-context indicates that the result (Target State) of the event holds at ST and that the occurrence of the event is related to future actions – this is also indicated by “korekara”.

EXP:

- (7b) Sokode, natsu goro ni tokidoki mikake-ta fuukei
thus, summer around DAT sometimes see -PAST sight
 nan da ga... neko ga, fensu no ana ni
PARTICLE COP though cat SUBJ fence POSS hole DAT
 hanshin dake ire -te ugoka -zu, jitto shi-teru
half.body only insert-TE move -NEG, firmly do-TEIRU
 yōso wo nankaika mi -ta.
appearance ACC some.time see-PAST.

'So, this is something that I have seen sometimes some time around summer... I have seen a couple of times that a cat entered inside of the fence with only half of its body, stopped moving and just held still.'

While the first line of (7b) sets the time of the story in the past, the main sentence containing the verb is not explicitly shifted to the past with a past time adverbial. The adverbial “nankaika” shows that the event has occurred multiple times, but not specifically *when*. It is instead the occurrence itself that is in focus, which indicates that this is a Perfect State, as explained in section 2.1.

PoRP:

- (7c) Kyō mo hashit-ta yo. Tabun, mainichi
today too run -PAST PARTICLE. probably, every.day
 hashiru to omou...
run PARTICLE think
 'I've run today too! I'll probably run every day from now.'

In (7c) there is no pre-context and therefore is an instance of an out-of-the-blue sentence. This firstly implies that the time reference is set at ST, which is enhanced by the use of the time adverbial “kyō”, which can be regarded as including ST. The post-context is localized in ST and forth, meaning that the ET of the first sentence is connected to a more general time frame that surrounds ST.

OTHER:

- (8a) Staffurūmu de shigoto wo shitei-tara, denwa ga nat-ta.
staffroom LOC work ACC do-TARA, phone SUBJ ring-PAST
 Sono toki, watashi ga ichiban denwa no chikaku ni ita [...]
that time, I SUB most phone POSS close DAT was [...]

'The phone rang while I was working in the staffroom. That time, I was the one closest to the phone [...]

In (8a), firstly, the temporal connection between “working” and “ringing” shows that the ET of “ringing” is put in relation to a past time event, namely “working in the staffroom”. The temporal localization in the past is further enhanced by the expression “that time”, which indicates that the ET is not perceived as being connected to ST.

UNCLEAR:

(8b) Sukina eiga wa? → Eiga wa yoku wakan-nai.
favorite movie TOP? movie TOP well know -NEG.

Aa, saikin wa Eva wo mi-ta.

oh, lately TOP Eva ACC see-PAST

'How about your favorite movie? → I don't know about movies. Oh right, lately I saw Neo Genesis Evangelion'.

(8b) is unclear between a PoRP-reading and a past tense-reading. The reason while the interpretation is unclear is that the adverbial “saikin” may or may not contain ST. While the ET is not explicitly localized in the past, the connection to ST is also questionable.

4.2 Hungarian results

The result of HPF are shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Results of the Hungarian past tense form

	Uses				Other	
Verb	RES	EXP	CPE	PoRP	OTHER	UN-CLEAR
Megállt (has stopped)	0	0	0	0	9	1
Tönkrement (has broken)	4	0	0	0	6	0
Eltűnt (has disappeared)	4	0	0	0	4	2
Megérkezett (has arrived)	4	0	0	0	6	0
Látott (has seen)	0	1	0	2	5	2
Futott (has run)	0	2	0	1	7	0
Villant (has flashed)	0	0	0	0	3	1
Csörgött (has rung)	0	0	1	2	4	0
Kopogtatott (has knocked)	0	0	0	0	4	0
Kiáltott (has shouted)	0	0	0	0	5	0
Sum:	12	3	1	5	53	6

As Table 5 shows, OTHER was the most common category, consisting of sentences that had a past tense-use. Among the four uses, RES had the majority of the examples, with a few examples of PoRP, followed by EXP and a single instance of CPE. A handful of examples proved difficult to classify and were thus categorized as UNCLEAR. The examples are given below.

RES:

- (9a) Nekem meg szintén eltűn -t a beírás -om
me-DAT and similarly disappear-PAST-3SG the comment-POSS
 a topik -kal együtt, de megismét-lem, hogy: [...]
the topic-COM together, but repeat -1SG, that: [...]
 'And my comment has also disappeared along with the topic, so I'll
 write again, that: [...]'

In (9a) the temporal localization of ET is unspecified, but the occurrence of the event itself is in focus. The event entails a perceptible Target State that can be interpreted as still holding at ST due to no clear temporal specification. This interpretation is enhanced by the post-context, which indicates that the occurrence of the event is related to future actions, namely that the author has to rewrite the comment.

EXP:

- (9b) Nem kényelmetlenek ezek a szobabiciklik? Nem jobb egy görgős
not uncomfortable these the room.bikes? not better a rolling
 szet a rendes bringá-hoz? (Én tél -en eddig
set the ordinary bike -ALL? in winter-INESS this.far
 max. fut -ott -am.)
maximum run-PAST-1SG
 'Aren't these exercise bikes uncomfortable? Isn't it better to get a rolling
 set to the bike you use? (This far, in winter, I have only run).'

Neither the context nor the usage of adverbials in (9b) localizes ET in the past. On the contrary, “eddig” explicitly expresses that the temporal localization is seen as a time span holding up to ST. What is stated in this sentence, is that in this time span “the event of running has occurred”, which qualifies this example as EXP.

CPE:

- (9c) Akár hisz -ik akár nem, ma egész nap
whether believe.2PS whether not, today entire day
csörgött a telefon -unk.
ring -PAST-3SG the telephone-POSS-1PL
 'Believe it or not, our phone has rung all day long today.'

The time frame in (9c) is “today”, which can be seen as including ST. The adverbial “egész nap” indicates that the “event of ringing” has been ongoing throughout the whole time frame, leading up to ST. Therefore, this sentence can be categorized as CPE, expressing a persisting situation.

PoRP:

- (9d) Csör-gött az ór -á -m! :) Vége az
ring -PAST-3SG the clock-POSS-1SG! end the
 idő -m -nek! A holnap -i vizontlátás -t.⁸
time-POSS-DAT. the tomorrow-POSS again.see -ACC.
 'My clock has rung! My time is over! See you tomorrow!

There is no pre-context in (9d), which makes this example an out-of-the-blue sentence. The event in the main sentence does not co-occur with a time adverbial, but simply focuses on the occurrence of the event itself. Furthermore, the second sentence indicates that the occurrence of the event has the consequence at ST that the

author's time is over. Therefore, this sentence is clearly connected to ST. However, since the event is not resultative, it is not a Target State that is entailed but a Perfect State, namely “that the event has occurred”. Also, what is being asserted is not that “the event has happened before” (EXP-reading), but that the event has just occurred, and therefore qualifies as a PoRP-sentence.

OTHER:

- (10a) Tegnap megáll-t egy busz az ablak -om
yesterday stop -PAST-3SG a bus the window-POSS
 előtt. Hogy milyen jó pasi volt vele!
in.front.of. that how good guy was with.it!
 'Yesterday a bus stopped in front of my window. What a great guy there was in it!'

The time adverbial “tegnap” in (10a) explicitly expresses the temporal localization to be in the past, with no indication of a connection to ST. This example is thus an apparent example of the past tense-use.

UNCLEAR:

- (10b) Kollégák figyelem! Az Osztapenkó-nál a befelé
colleagues attention! the Osztapenko-ADESS the inner
 oldal-on a doboz ma villan-t egy kb.
side -SUP the box today flash-PAST an approxiamtely
 kilencven-nel haladó, éppen sávot váltó Zsiguli-ra.
ninety -ADESS progressing, just lane changing Zhiguli-SUB
 'Attention, people! The box flashed today at the Osztapenko on the inner side, when a Zhiguli-car going with about 90 km/h passed by, changing lanes.'

The temporal localization in (10b) is “today”, which could be seen as including ST. However, the connection to ST is not made clear and therefore it is unclear if this example should be regarded as PoRP or past tense.

5. Conclusion

In general, the criteria in Table 3 can be considered as an appropriate guideline for determining PresP, in the sense that most of the examples could be classified and only a few cases of UNCLEAR could be observed. As the example sentences in Chapter 4 showed, paying attention to the temporal localization of the event – be it with the support of adverbials or by the context – proved to be an effective method to distinguish events that have and do not have a connection to ST. Many of the examples that were clearly connected to ST were out-of-the-blue sentences and contained no time adverbial at all – this applied to both languages. This indicates that PresP has a vital function to express indefinite past-events as stated by Lindstedt (2000: 369). Furthermore, the post-context in sentences such as (7a, 7c, 9a, 9d) was highly relevant. The post-context in these sentences indicated that the occurrence of the event had consequences at ST.

As the results of Table 4-5 show, both JTA and HPF behaved similarly in the sense that both can function as a PresP-form, even though both verb forms mainly have the role of a past tense. Verbs that were resultative were more likely to have a PresP-reading in both languages. All sentences except one, namely (18c), had a culminating point. This suggests that the PresP-reading is more frequent with JTA and HPF if the event is I) bounded II) resultative.

One minor difference between the two languages is that there was one instance of CPE in Hungarian, while there were none in Japanese. The reason for this might be that JTA is generally seen as perfective (Kudou 1995: 46), while this does not apply to HPF. In Japanese, imperfectivity is expressed by the aspectual verb form “teiru”, while Hungarian has no such aspectual marker. In Hungarian the lexical aspect tends to determine the situation aspect and grammatical aspect (Kiefer 2006: 309, Németh 2012: 36), and in the only example of CPE, the word “csörög” (“ring”)

is an atelic verb, which provides that it tends to be seen as imperfective. This difference in aspectual marking could be the reason why CPE can be expressed by HPF and not by JTA. The interaction between the possibility of a PresP-reading and the aspectual system of these two languages might be of further interest for future research.

FOOTNOTES

1. For reference on Japanese: Nitta (2007: 134-136), for Hungarian Kenesei et al. (1998: 295-296)
2. e.g Comrie (1976), Michaelis (1993), Dahl & Hedin (2000)
3. For further reference: McCoard (1978: 135)
4. Parsons (1990) refers to this as a “resultant state” but to avoid confusion, the more generally accepted “perfect state” is used in the present paper (see Rothstein 2008, Nishiyama & Koenig 2010, Yao 2014).
5. The terms “achievement/activity/semelfactive” do not essentially denote lexical aspect but situation aspect, since the classification of a given verb can change depending on its arguments and the context, as it has been noted by Dahl (1985) and Croft (2012). However, this does not change the fact that the verbs in Table 2 generally do or do not entail a Target State and thus the given classification depending on resultativeness is considered appropriate.
6. For the sake of simplicity EXP and PoRP have the same criteria. The reason for this is that the two uses are similar – in fact, Leech (2004:36) unites these use under one category, “indefinite past”. For want of space, the difference between the two categories will not be explained thoroughly, but the main difference lies in the properties mentioned in section 2.1.
7. As the English translation shows, some examples are better translated to the preterite in English than PresP. It has been noted by Schaden (2009: 129-130) that depending on the situation, English can use both PresP and the preterite to indicate the current relevance of the event, such as the continuance of a result at ST. This is not the case in other languages,

such as French and Spanish. However, since this is a matter of PresP in English and not Japanese and Hungarian, this issue will not be dealt with here.

8. The example originally contained a word pun in which the letters of the word “viszontlátást” were in a different order. Since the word pun is hard to comprehend for a non-native speaker and might therefore attract unnecessary attention, the example was altered to the intended meaning “see you tomorrow”.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – accusative case

AD – adessive case

ALL – allative case

COM – comitative case

COP – copula

DAT – dative case

DIR – particle expressing direction

GEN – genitive marker

ILL – illative case

INDEF – indefinite article

INST – instrumental case

NEG – negation

NOM – nominative marker

PAST – past tense marker

PL – plural

POL – politeness marker

POSS – possessive marker

SG – singular

SUB – sublative case

SUP – superessive case

TE – Japanese gerund form ‘te’

TEIRU – Japanese aspectual form ‘teiru’

TOP – topic marker

REFERENCES

- Bybee, J., Perkins, R. & Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The evolution of grammar – tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, O., & Hedin, E. 2000. Current relevance and event reference. In O. Dahl (Ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 385-402. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Declerck, R. 1991. *Tense in english*. London: Routledge.
- Iatridou S., Anagnostopoulou E. & Pancheva, R. 2003. Observations about the form and meaning of the Perfect. In A. Alexidaou., M. Rather & A. von Stechow (Eds.), *Perfect Explorations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Katz, G. 2003. On the stativity of the English Perfect. In A. Alexidaou., M. Rather & A. von Stechow (Eds.), *Perfect explorations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kenesei, I., Vago, R.M. & Fenyvesi. A. 1998. *Hungarian*. London: Routledge.
- Kiefer, F. 2006. *Aspektus és akcióminőség – különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvre*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kiss, K. É. 2017. The rise and fall of Hungarian complex tenses. In E. Mathieu & R. Truswell (Eds.), *Micro-change and Macro-change in Diachronic Syntax*, 61-74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Klein, W. 1992. The present perfect puzzle. *Language*, 68, 525-552.
- Kudou, M. 1995. *Aspect / tensu taiki to tekusuto*. Tokyo: Hituzi syobo.
- Leech, G. 2004. *Meaning and the English verb*, Third Edition. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- Lindstedt, J. 2000. The perfect, aspectual, temporal and evidential. In O. Dahl (Ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*. 365-384. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McCawley, J. D. 1971. Tense and time reference in English. In C. J. Fillmore & D.T. Langendoen (Eds.), *Studies in Linguistic Semantics*. 96-113. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- McCoard, R. W. 1978. *The English perfect: tense-choice and pragmatic inferences*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Michaelis, L. A. 1993. *Toward a grammar of aspect: the case of the English perfect construction*. UMI Dissertation Services, Ann Arbor: Bell & Howell.
- Molsing, K.V. 2006. The tense and aspect of the Present Perfect in English and Portuguese. *Revista Letras, Curitiba*, 69, 133-156.
- Musan, R. 2002. *The German perfect. Its semantic composition and its interactions with temporal adverbials*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Németh, B. 2012. *Az aspektus a magyar nyelvben*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- Nishiyama, A., & Koenig, J.-P. 2010. What is a perfect state?. *Language*, 86(3), 611-645.
- Nitta, Y. 2007. *Gendai nihongo bunpou 3, aspekuto / tensu / koutei*. Tokyo: Kuroshio shuppan.
- Parsons, T. 1990. *Events in the semantics of English*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Rothstein, B. 2008. *The perfect time span: on the present perfect in German, Swedish and English*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Schaden, G. 2009. Present perfects compete. *Linguist and Philos*, 32, 115–141.
- Smith, C. S. 1991. *The parameter of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Vendler, Z. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Yao, X. 2014. *The Present Perfect in English: Meaning, Interpretation and Use*, (Doctoral thesis, University of New South Wales). Available from:
[http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:12163/SOURCE02 ? view=true](http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:12163/SOURCE02?view=true)

Websites

<http://mnsz.nytud.hu/>

<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp/shonagon/>